1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
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her unmarried brother to live with her and directed his efforts in draining a large field. The two of them ran the farm very successfully, though the brother grumbled. In another, a "landless" young man pleaded successfully to a Land Commission official for an addition to his aunt's holding, presented his case, and carried out the negotiations, but the final reference had to be made, of course, to the aunt for whom he worked, for in such case the feeling that the man must represent the family and farm unit in the community at large is sufficiently strong to push a subordinate "boy" into the position usually filled by the farm husband and father.

Similarly with several old bachelors. A nephew moves in and works the farm, but the old fellow keeps strict control even to regulating the nephew's expenditures for amusements. In one case, where a widower had a small son, the son was taken in by a childless sister and raised by her, and when he grew up and married he inherited the sister's farm. His father remarried and raised a second brood. In another, two spinsters spent their lives on a farm worked by their two cousins.

The attitudes of the country people to these arrangements show that incomplete farm families are felt to be departures from the normal; they are subjects for commiseration. Such phrases as "It's a hard life she has with only the brother and no husband to help her" and "He's all by himself with only his son there on the land, poor fellow," are commonly applied to them.

The policy of the Land Commission in increasing farm holdings is very significant in this regard. The officials recognize the social value of the full family explicitly. According to the official in charge of land division in Clare, who has had successful experience in other regions as well:

> An old-age pensioner without family could not be considered for an addition of land, nor could a couple of spinsters. . . .

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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654 Where the question arises, a household consisting of father and
594 mother and sons, rather than daughters alone, would have a prior claim. But, regarding the position of the wife, it is a fact that, if the husband goes, the wife keeps the farm up. She is the person who saves the money and governs everything.

Again:

594 Twenty to twenty-five acres of all-purpose land where the
462 mother is normal and the father energetic is sufficient to keep a farmer and his family. It is the province of the mother to look after the fowl, the milk, the butter, the pigs, the calves, and the milking of the cows. A woman on a small farm can milk five cows in thirty minutes. She also takes care of the children, though she sometimes has a girl in to help her for a time. She also makes and repairs the clothes. She does the buying for the house and the husband only for feed, seed and fertilizer. She has the responsibility regarding medical attention, and where she has any showing of culture the family pushes on ahead. In fact, on the mother depends the organization of the family in all ways.

594 Such evidence points to a situation in which the immediate family of husband, wife, and children, the group basic to Irish society and especially to Irish rural life, carries on a corporate economy. The roles of the component individuals are assigned them by virtue of their position in the family. The character of the economic effort, its control, direction, and purposes, are part and parcel of the life of the social group.

476 Beyond the family economy of the small farm, there exists also a certain amount of coöperation in the Irish countryside among the small farmers. Agricultural labor upon the individual farms is not performed in isolated competition, but is permeated with a give-and-take of reciprocal aids. That coöperation takes the following forms:

1. Lending tools, or doing the work with one's own, for friends and neighbors who have not the requisite tools, especially in mowing, spring sowing, harrowing, ploughing.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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574 602 "put down before" the countryman who is traveling to town or to the fair or who is merely making the evening *cuaird*, or visit, at which the older men of the local community gather round the hearth to chat and retell the old stories of legend and folklore and discuss the news. Niggardly treatment in this regard leads to disputes, as does abuse of the privilege by the visitor. A standing joke in Luogh was the treatment given to her too-voracious relatives there by a woman who exercised considerable ingenuity in starving them out without offending them.

[521] [522]

574 602 273 Similarly, the obligations extend to such occasions of good fellowship and holiday as the fair day and market. "Friends" treat one another at the local public houses on meeting in town. Thus one countryman complained to the authors that he dreaded the fair day, for he must drink up all his profits with his "friends." Others are able to strike a happier balance; and a religious pledge of teetotalism likewise surmounts the difficulty.

241 594 182 The sum of the evidence presents the small farm economy as a family situation in which economic effort, individual and coöperative, is controlled by the social forces operative within the family. Labor connected with agriculture is merely one feature of a total constellation of behavior, enforced through obligations reciprocal in nature and maintained by sentiments and sanctions in a traditional setting.

17: Messenger E-4,5 (1958-1966)1971 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
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human relationships are few. There is, in fact, little difference in the style of life between the most and the least prosperous of the islanders. The web of kinship rather than the possession of status attributes, for the most part, determines who will interact with whom and in what manner. Land and money are the principal symbols, with formal education and influential relatives (particularly priests, nuns, and teachers), on the mainland and abroad, becoming more important. Two generations ago, strength, courage, economic skills, and musical and storytelling abilities were highly regarded as well, but acculturation has lessened their significance.

Although there are fifty-nine nuclear families, only thirteen surnames exist today. There is much inbreeding, as might be expected, and the church carefully checks the genealogies of prospective spouses to ascertain their degree of consanguinity. Courtship is almost nonexistent, and most marriages are arranged with little concern for the desires of the young people involved. Late marriage and celibacy are as prevalent in Inis Beag as elsewhere in Ireland. The average marriage age for men is thirty-six and for women twenty-five, and 29 percent of those persons eligible for marriage are single.[3] The functions of the family are mainly economic and reproductive, and conjugal love is extremely rare. A sharp dichotomy exists between the sexes; both before and after marriage men interact mostly with men and women with women. The average family has seven offspring, and many women are unhappy about being forced by the unauthorized decree of local priests to produce as many children as possible. They feel that the constant bearing and rearing of offspring increase their work, restrict their freedom, and perpetuate the poverty of their families. Jealousy of the greater freedom of men is commonly expressed by women who have many young children. Mothers bestow a considerable amount of attention and affection on their offspring, especially on their sons. However, tensions between fathers and sons which develop in childhood often flare into scarcely repressed hostility

[3] Twenty-nine percent of those islanders of marriageable age are single. This rises to a high of 37 percent among first and second generation Inis Beag emigrants, indicating the actions of more than just economic causes. Irish scholars, for obvious reasons, tend to stress economic and other (climate, race, English oppression, the famine, loss of the Irish tongue, etc.) monistic causes in their analyses of culture and personality phenomena. Inadequate statistics for second and third generation migrants from Inis Beag suggest that the celibacy rate lowers markedly only when descendants of immigrants dissociate themselves from Irish ethnic communities and Irish-American priests. Ethnographic research is sorely needed among Irish of several generations in the countries to which they have migrated to probe this and other phenomena.